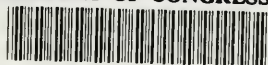


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THE

ANDOVER HUSKING;

A POLITICAL TALE,

SUITED TO THE

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE PRESENT TIME,

AND DEDICATED TO THE

WHIGS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

“This is true LIBERTY, when free-born men,
Having to advise the people, may speak FREE.”

MILTON.

BOSTON:

J H. EASTBURN, PRINTER.

1842.

THE LIBRARY

OF THE

THE ANDOVER HUSKING.

A meeting took place at my house a few evenings since, which proved so interesting in its events, and as I conceive, so important in its conclusions, that I have thought fit to set down the transaction as it occurred, so far as it is possible to remember it. I am a farmer in the good town of Andover, in the County of Essex. I will not say a "plain farmer," because I have observed that it is the style usually assumed by those who have some design of deception on hand; but I am placed far above any apprehension of ordinary want, by the ownership of an excellent and productive farm, bequeathed to me by my worthy father, whose ancestors had held it for many generations, and which I have worked on, man and boy, now nearly sixty years.

The occasion to which I refer, was one of our annual husking-meetings, which I have always been in the habit of keeping up, as much for the purpose of social and friendly conversation, as with any other object; especially as I cannot think it right that a man who is receiving the good things of Providence should sit down grudgingly, (and a sad effort it is,) to enjoy them by himself. My wife and daughters are always happy to take the care of those comforts so necessary to make these occasions pass off agreeably; and really, it is very pleasant to meet a neighbor or two in this way, to chat about passing events at home and abroad; to learn who has prospered, and whom the black ox has trod on; and above all, to discover who needs the touch of a helping hand, as the cold weather comes forward; for if a man does not give attention to such thoughts, especially in harvest time, in my mind, he has very little idea of the business which he was sent into the world to do.

The meeting, this time, promised to be a more than usually happy one; for my son, John, who has been settled in business at the West, now several years, arrived at my house on a visit that very afternoon. His coming caused great joy in my household; for we are both fond and proud of him. I shall not undertake to set forth his merits here; whoever reads this narration will soon discover that he is no fool. He came so late that we had scarcely more than time for tea, before we adjourned to the barn floor, for the husking match. I endeavor always to keep up, in myself and others, a spirit of gratitude to Providence for the good bestowed

upon us; and at the close of a season so abundant as this has been, it would show a base heart indeed to refuse to acknowledge our blessings, and sincerely thank their Author.

“Well, my friends,” said I, “this has been indeed a bountiful season, and should draw forth grateful hearts; the fruits of the earth were never more abundant. The poorest man need hardly suffer the wants that grind the poor of other countries, unless, indeed, the farmers become more griping, because prices are low. This would be a sad return enough, for the blessings of plenty. And while I think of it, (for I am apt to have such sideway sort of notions come into my head,) mankind must be allowed to be strangely perverse. There seems to be every thing we could desire. Nature and Providence have done for us much beyond our deserts. We are living under the best of institutions, secured to us at a great price, by the efforts and sacrifices of our fathers; and yet, at this very moment, we are in a state of the worst possible confusion and discord, and never were men’s minds more truly unsettled on matters of public concern!”

I ought, perhaps, to have premised that my sentiments have always been of the true Democratic school. I have supposed the Government only instituted to keep the State machine in motion, and to maintain necessary law and order, so that each individual citizen might attend principally to his private concerns, and enjoy as much comfort and happiness and independence, as is consistent with human affairs. I do not know how it is, but either because the party professed sentiments similar to those I held, or because many of my friends of the same neighborhood took this course, or on account of the name itself, I too insensibly (such is human nature) had become incorporated with the modern Democratic party, many years ago. But I have always endeavored to throw an honest, considerate and conscientious vote, deeming it my duty to know exactly why I took this course or that, and feeling that the only way in which we could maintain our institutions, was by understanding as far as possible the course of public events; by taking pains for this purpose, and when the time came, marching up to the polls and depositing my vote, as though the fate of the nation rested on my single act! I had long, however, become dissatisfied with my party relations. I doubted General Jackson’s fitness for the place of President of these United States, even supposing him to mean well, as some of our friends said was the case; and whether this were so or not, I now became convinced, by his conduct, that he was doing all it was possible for any man to do to pervert the minds of the citizens, and destroy the well-being of the country. The avowal of Mr. Van Buren, that his only ambition was “to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor,” you may

suppose, displeased me ; in the first place, because it was evident that he was deficient in dignity and self-respect, and was not fit to be the first man in the nation, who would thus bind himself blindly to follow in the footsteps of any body ; and, secondly, because it was easy to see that he made this avowal for the simple purpose of securing the influence of that large party, which had elevated "his illustrious predecessor" to the Presidential chair. I therefore became upon honest and sincere conviction, one of those who engaged, for twelve years, in earnest, and I believe most right minded resistance to the corruptions of those two administrations. The principles of the party I felt were sound ; and it proved that the people thought so too, when, in the memorable canvas of 1840, they elected, by an overwhelming majority, that excellent and single-hearted man, whom Providence seems to have removed from us for our sins ! The conduct of the people of the United States, in that election, must have cheered the most despondent with the assurance, that there was indeed a fund of good sense, and of good principle too, in the great body of the citizens, which only needed to be convinced, and brought into action, in order to effect the most astonishing and gratifying results. After this long preamble, it was to this very point I was coming in my speech on the husking occasion.

"Here," said I, "was indeed a great victory on the part of the Whigs, hoped for, longed for, prayed for, struggled for ; and finally obtained, to an extent which the most sanguine could hardly have anticipated ; yet they have been in power scarcely two years, and is not the public mind, as I have already said, more than ever before unsettled ? Are not *the people*, who honestly expected great things, disappointed ? Is the situation of affairs in reality any better than it was under Jackson and Van Buren ? Must we again almost despair of bringing into exercise the principles and the conduct of other and purer times ?"

I said some of these things partly to bring out John—"honest John"—we used to call him when he was a boy ; and you shall hear how he took the subject up.

"My dear father," said my son John, "you forgot that you have yourself answered one of your questions at least, in the most satisfactory and convincing manner. The election of 1840, did indeed prove that *the people* are sound ; that though they may be cheated and deceived and misled, for a time, they in general mean to do what is right. "The voice of the people" can be called the "voice of God," upon no other ground, than that, if they have a fair opportunity to an intelligent understanding of any question, and decide it without passion or prejudice, the conclusions of the common mind are seldom erroneous. In

my opinion, they are desirous of coming together now ; and they are separated and their minds unsettled, only because some public men have acted wrongfully, and others have endeavored to throw a mist over public affairs, to answer their own ends ; which it requires only a little attention and plain sense and honest purpose, completely to clear away. And the evils, to which you allude and which cannot be denied, are to be attributed, in my judgment, mainly, to two causes : First, to the spirit of party itself, "the bane of Republican institutions," as Washington himself styles it, in the Farewell Address, and which has arrived in this country, to a fearful and most dangerous height ; and Secondly, to the unprincipled designs of leading politicians, in high and low places, who have fostered and fomented this spirit, for their own wicked and selfish purposes. They thus act and react upon each other. And, as it unfortunately happens in all governments that bad men of talent, being restrained by no motives of good principle or modesty, stand a better chance of promoting their own views, for a time, than good men of equal or superior ability, who feel both these influences,—thus it is, that, as in the boiling of a pot, much of that which is uppermost is the merest and vilest scum ! But having secured station, they have thus, from their very position,—from the honest confidence the people would entertain, that only merit wins its way, and from the thousand unseen but powerful motives, which connect multitudes with persons in power,—they thus I say, acquire the means of influencing the popular mind, through the innumerable minute channels, visible only to the keen-eyed scrutiny of a resolute and reckless politician. The people occasionally awake from their apathy and dethrone these evil counsellors ; generally, however, not before much mischief has been effected by their means. But it is only when right-minded men, with the public good really at heart, league together for this purpose, and to this end lay aside minor differences, that much good can be accomplished."

Upon this, my neighbor Brown, who has always been rather a considerate sort of Loco Foco, and in the main, a well meaning industrious man, and, of late inclining a little towards *Tylerism*, like many others of his stamp, spoke up :

"Well, friend John," said he, "I like a good deal that you say, and should be very glad indeed to see the best men and the best measures more the fashion than they seem to be now. I profess to be a democrat, and I go for reform. I don't like aristocracy, and want to see the people come to their rights. I want to vote for honest republican men, who will go for equal rights and no monopolies. But who are they ? that's the question ! I have been thinking, of late, whether President Tyler was'n't about right, and don't know but I shall vote for him ; for *our folks* don't seem to have any body in the field, and I really don't know who

they are going to pick up. Now, don't you think Tyler has done some good things? there's the Bank Veto, for instance? I go for that, *punctilio*! (Neighbor Brown occasionally uses a queer expression.)

"There are several points in your inquiry, neighbor Brown, well deserving an answer," said John, "and I hope we shall not be found to disagree on most of them in the end.

In regard to "aristocracy," however, let me first make you a suggestion, and see if you have not given way to a little unreasonable prejudice. I do not know who is really an aristocrat in this country, but your good, honest and independent Farmer, who cultivates the land his fathers bequeathed him, and often feels no unworthy pride in its possession and permanence. Aristocracy, in all countries, is undoubtedly founded on landed possessions. Business fluctuates. He who is rich to-day, may be poor to-morrow. We see this constantly occurring all around us. Our laws are such, that riches cannot, in fact, remain in the same family for more than one or two generations. Where is the aristocracy of Revolutionary times? Why, the descendants of those who were then rich have learned trades, become farmers, mechanics, and labored in professions. So it must always be in our institutions. As to mere pride of money amongst us, to be sure, nothing can be more ridiculous. But no change of institutions, or rulers, could affect this. The difficulty is in the hearts of men; and those who are silly enough to be proud of money in this country, would be so every where and under all administrations.

"But I like your expression of 'picking up' a candidate, because it expresses precisely the present position of the Loco Foco party, so called. Your old friends will be driven to the expedient of picking up some one to serve their turn; to answer as the rallying-word of their party; to be made use of, not because he best deserves the public confidence;—not because he is really the man whom the people delight to honor. Your present attitude shows that you have no such man entitled to or who possesses the public confidence, or who can unite your party in his support. But the individual whom your leaders may see fit to pitch upon, on the new and contemptible principle of 'availability,' if successful, which may Heaven avert! instead of being the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, can but be the tool of a faction! I cannot, for the life of me, understand how it is, that honest and well meaning men, like you and thousands of others in your ranks, can consent to be led by the shallow artifices of men, who are thinking only of their own elevation, or of the "spoils of the victors,"——to do what? Why, to sustain deliberately a party without principles or definite objects. I repeat it, absolutely without public principles—that is, plain, direct, certain, known

and intelligible plans of public policy ; and to do this, without even the name of a candidate to hold them together. Men usually contend for some object. Can you tell me what is yours ? Why, one would think this was the veriest rope of sand, that the roll of the first wave dissolved into its original elements ! I hope to convince you, before we get through, that the well meaning and best informed, both of your party and the Whigs, are actually at the present moment very much in the position of the old Federal and Democratic parties, who could not help coming together finally, because there was really nothing left between them, upon which it was possible for them any longer to disagree. Rely upon it, the only bond that holds you together now, is old habits ; the dictates of Conventions, not always composed of the most disinterested individuals ; the harangues of speakers, inspired by the hope of winning your 'most sweet voices,' to help them to office ; and the idle, often false, declamation of newspapers, whose only means of support depend upon maintaining a party which shall maintain them ! And this very view, which I firmly believe you will find fully borne out by the truth, explains, quite clearly, one of the suggestions made by my father just now. This is the reason that 'men's minds are unsettled ;' that so many say they don't know where to find themselves ; because the leading measures of policy, proposed and pursued by the Whigs, are the very measures which intelligent and honest Democrats themselves desire to carry into effect. And this, in the nature of things, must be so. Occasionally, questions, national or local, spring up, about which honest men may well differ ; and hence parties arise, and are set in opposition to each other ; but upon obvious and necessary plans of national policy, honest men of every party must eventually act together ; for their interest is the same, and it is unavoidable that they should think alike. A sound currency, for instance, is as necessary for you as for me. It involves the fibres of business, the security of property, the means of life. I will not talk to you about 'hard money' and 'paper money,' for I consider this child's play. There must be always a certain amount of gold and silver, both as a means of circulation and as a basis of credit, which paper money is. But one kind of property is as good for this basis as another. Your farm is better for this purpose than gold, because you get from it the direct necessities of life, and gold is not itself an *atable* commodity ; my stock of goods is a better basis than silver, for precisely the same reason ; and enterprise, well directed and prudent, not extravagant speculating enterprise, is as good a basis, perhaps, as either of the other two. Neither your farm or my goods would be worth much to us except in combination with skill, prudence and energy, which is enterprise. The circulation of the

country should depend on property, or well regulated skill. But in order to make either of these of much value, *the currency*,—the representative of their value,—the means of shifting and employing these in trade, and obtaining payment from a distance on easy terms; this is what is essential in order to make all kinds of business safe and prosperous. So that the trader in N. Orleans, for instance, worth \$20,000, who owes in Boston a debt of \$10,000, may be able to purchase exchange for \$30 or \$40 and with this pay his debt; instead of withholding payment, because he cannot discharge obligations amounting to half his property, without sacrificing the other half to provide funds. This causes our embarrassments. There can be no disagreement about the necessity of a remedy, however we may differ as to the means”

“And then again, as to the Protective Policy. No New Englander who can count ten, has any doubt about the propriety of this system. No sensible man would wish to be exposed to a direct tax (how to be raised I should like to know ?) upon the necessities of life, for the support of Government, when it can be maintained much better and without perceptible burden to himself, by an imposition on foreign luxuries ! No man would wish to see our own ports thrown open without restriction upon the importations of foreign nations, who all pursue for themselves the system of protection, and who would be the only gainers by our folly ! At first, no doubt, we should have fine times ! The country would at once be flooded with every kind of foreign goods, and cheap too. We might lay up a stock of things not perishable for some time, if we had money to buy with. In the mean time, however, every mill and every manufactory has stopped, and hundreds of thousands are thrown out of employ. Handicraftsmen, of every description must certainly give up their occupations ; because they cannot compete with the cheap labor of other countries. Why ? Because they cannot and do not wish to exist in the starving condition of laborers in other countries. A mechanic here is a FREEMAN ; a part and portion of the State ; with rights to exercise and a station to maintain. He desires to uphold his respectability and that of his family ; to give his children education, and to enjoy some of the comforts of life. He can do none of these things except by the protection of labor. What shall we do then ? Competition and other causes have long since shut up some of our old sources of commerce, and made others much less profitable. If there be no duty on imported woollens and cottons, the value of the raw article must diminish at least in proportion to the amount not consumed in the factories at home ; and I think there is no doubt that the merchants would eventually feel this in the reduction of freights. The farmer, to be sure, would have his land ;

but he would be surrounded by a poor instead of a thriving population. He would get but a meagre price for his products ; often, perhaps, nothing at all. This is FREE TRADE ! especially in a country like New England, which brings its bread-stuffs from a distance, and does not raise much more of the ordinary necessities of life than are needed at home. Who does not remember the period of emigration to “ the Ohio,” as all the West was called with us not a great while ago ? How many a melancholy picture of beggary and wretchedness does the recollection call up. Compare the population of New England then, with the swelling, increasing, striving multitude of the present day. Do you wish to renew those scenes ? If so, repeal all protective clauses, and introduce *free trade*. How soon you would see throngs of half-starved creatures, taking up the mournful march again, not “ to the Ohio,”—but a step now,—but to the far, far West ! A sterile soil, like that of New England, though yet able to sustain millions on millions, as the wretched serfs of Europe are sustained, would not maintain New Englanders, as New Englanders would only be content to live. Carry out, then, if you please, the doctrines which *disinterested* old England, and your equally disinterested leaders are recommending to you,—and if, from the thin population of twenty, thirty, forty years ago, there was a “ tide ” of emigration to the West,—to what a flood must it of necessity swell now.

“ To New England certainly, the Protective System is the very breath of its nostrils. It builds up our cities, it employs our operatives and laborers ; it affords the merchant his means of trade ; it supplies a market for the produce of our farmers ; it engages the skill of our mechanics ; it spreads a living, breathing, intelligent population where there was before a wilderness ; it makes society thrifty, active and enterprising, which without it would be torpid and unemployed. There is no man, in our region certainly, who does not derive from it innumerable direct and incidental benefits. Men of all parties, therefore, are interested in maintaining this system, which, if it increases the fortunes of the rich, also diffuses the comforts of life amongst the poor ; and the votes of some of your own party in Congress on the Tariff Bill, at the recent session would seem at length to settle this question as one on which we cannot disagree. About what then shall we, or can we differ, for I do not remember any other important question of Whig policy, except the “ reformation of abuses ” and “ one presidential term,”—which, of course, you are too good a democrat to object to,—unless it be the “ distribution of the public lands.”

“ This may be all very true,” replied neighbour Brown, “ and I really think it is in the main ; for I have long been of opinion that moderate men of all parties were well disposed to come to-

gether, if they were not kept apart by the devices and ill-conduct of their leaders. I assure you I shall take it into careful consideration. But when you have answered my question on the Bank Veto, I should like to ask you another as to how the Whigs have *kept the promises*, on the strength of which they came into power."

"You will be surprised then, perhaps, to hear me say," said John, "that I have not charity enough to believe Mr. Tyler's conduct on the Bank question was dictated by honest motives. I am one of those individuals who regard a United States Bank, properly controlled and honestly managed, as the only sure and reasonable system for perfecting the currency and sustaining the business of the country. Politicians may declaim against it as much as they please—and minister to what they style the "popular prejudice"—and declare that the Bank is an "exploded idea;" but popular *prejudice* is not always right, especially when it is not the prejudice of the best informed among the people,—and no idea can be exploded, which is the conclusion of truth founded on experience and practical knowledge of the case. In my opinion, the United States Bank, when General Jackson commenced his assault upon it, was as sound an institution as ever existed; its means ample, its business transactions fairly conducted; its bills, in every quarter of the globe, the best and soundest currency which could be imagined, and so every where considered. Some men called it an "aristocratic" institution. It was so, only in the sense in which every man may call his neighbor an aristocrat, because he happens to have more money and therefore more power at command than himself. It was aristocratic in the eyes of the "levellers down," but in my view it was really the most republican system, and the most consonant with the genius of our institutions, of any that could possibly be devised. Why? Because in no government is it desirable or safe that the public money should be under the direct control of the Executive; to be used either for good or bad purposes, without some sense of responsibility to the community, and the means in the hands of the public of calling him to account. I should as soon think of putting the town-funds into the pocket of the Chairman of the Selectmen, to use them according to his own fancy, without a bank-book or a cheque, to shew how much he had drawn out and compel him to shew what he had done with it. I am only surprised and mortified that so good a republican as I hope Mr. Webster is, who has defended the Bank so stoutly in the Senate, and with so much force and clearness at Worcester in 1832, should now allow his mind to be mystified with Exchequers and Sub-treasuries, or any other of the miserable tools of arbitrary and corrupt power. The

vigilant wisdom of a Bank, a majority of whose directors are disconnected with the government, is the best cheque upon an ill use of the public money. But General Jackson knew that the great body of Directors and Stockholders were not in favor of his administration, just like leading men in every other situation, and he determined, if he could break it down, it should fall! Without a single act of corrupt management proved against it, he proclaimed it a "*monster*," and threw into the struggle against it the whole power and influence of the Government. No institution could withstand this. The deposits were wickedly and illegally withdrawn, and its resources not only thus extensively diminished, but its business operations embarrassed by the sudden withdrawal of its funds. We all know the result. "Persecution," they say, "maketh a wise man mad." Mr. Biddle strove to maintain and retrieve the fortunes of the Bank, by the same ventures which have ruined thousands of individuals in this country, in that insane thirst after wealth, which is the bane and curse of the land. No Bank could resist the determined hostility of the Executive, backed by hireling presses and a resolute party in power; and, according to the common course of human affairs, it is not singular that it lost some of its integrity when it was curtailed of its resources; but impartial history will one day relate, that hundreds were beggared, and hundreds of thousands directly or indirectly deprived of their means of life, the business of the country inextricably involved, its credit destroyed abroad and the operations of the Government embarrassed at home, its Treasury emptied, the public morals corrupted and repudiation instead of honest payment the order of the day, because General Jackson hated the Bank that would not become his tool, called it a "*MONSTER*," and hallooed his partizans onwards to its destruction!

"Upon General Harrison's accession there was reason to hope that many of these evils might have been remedied, many perhaps prevented. Providence interposed! But to come at length to your question—Mr. Tyler has, in my judgment, not only outraged the principles and policy of the country, but has trifled with every thing that ought to be dear to a public man. He could not put his scruples on General Jackson's professed constitutional grounds. He had himself voted for the Bank, in the Senate; he knew that every President from Washington to Jackson, democrats of the old and democrats of the new school, had decided the Bank to be Constitutional—and the Supreme Judiciary had repeatedly confirmed this decision. He knew, too, from the best source of information, that men of business, every where, advised the Charter of the Bank. "If they had fears" as Mr. Webster said at Faneuil Hall, "they also had

hopes, and promised them aid to carry it into operation." What more could he desire? Something must be done for the relief of the country. The cry for this was universal from all classes of men. Why, not to recount all the abstractions, and wire drawn trifling, upon the main or the incidental question,—says he, "There is a popular prejudice against it, and I deem it inexpedient!" No doubt there was a prejudice, to some extent; but it was his duty, as a right-minded and honorable man, to meet this prejudice fairly, to address it with reason and truth, to comply with the wishes of intelligent men, to give it the benefit of experiment, to throw himself into the conflict, should any occur, and to sink or swim with those who had placed him in his responsible position. A public man must meet prejudices—conquer prejudices; and look for judgment upon his conduct to higher sources than that which to-day denounces, to-morrow applauds! Besides, had he not every thing to encourage him? The judgment of business men,—the sanction of Congress, fresh from the people,—the pressing wants and embarrassments of the country—the necessity of some system, which should give stability to business and confidence to public and private transactions! And yet the President declares it inexpedient! Yes, this creature of expediency,—placed in his very post only by means of expediency, (the chief sin, in my opinion of the Whig party, in selecting any man upon such motives instead of by the solid and eternal rule of right,) this "available" servant of the people is found unavailable, just when his services were most needed—and he declares the Bank to be "inexpedient!" "There was a popular prejudice against it, and the stock would not be taken up!" To be sure there would be a prejudice and an insuperable one, if the Executive officer of the Nation was resolved to have no confidence in it! Certainly the stock would not be taken, unless the Government sustained it! Neither this, nor any other similar institution, could stand for a moment, or enter at all upon living active existence, against the influence of such opposition. No! Rely upon it, that the very moment when popular prejudice operated so powerfully upon the President's *conscience*, a glimmering streak of his present lucid position had already dawned upon his mind; and he had already conceived hopes, shadowy and delusive as they were, of flattering the prejudices of that very party which converted the old Bank, tame enough before, into the very monster which their imaginations prefigured! And yet his partizans say, in his defence, that the leading Whigs forced him to take a stand—they compelled him to an issue which he would gladly have avoided! But what shallow sophistry is this! He alone, then, is entitled to adhere to his opinion. He alone on a question of expediency, is excused from the responsibility of not yielding to

the wishes and the judgment of others. He may if he chooses, for mere expediency's sake, sacrifice the hopes and disappoint the reasonable expectations, of his party and the Nation ! There was a safety-valve for him, if he had seen fit to turn the screw. Why not give it his official sanction,—express his private disapprobation as he has since seen fit to do on other subjects, and put the responsibility upon those who so earnestly desired to test the virtue of the experiment ! No,—he, like Jackson, chose to take the responsibility. Let him abide it !

“I have harangued at some length, on this point, and will, therefore, make but one more suggestion. The only serious objection I ever heard to a bank, is one which equally applies to all banks,—all institutions,—all human things,—that it was liable to corruption and dishonesty. I should blush for my country, if I supposed there were more than usual force in this suggestion ; if I thought we were not capable of as much integrity as the people of other civilized countries, in all of which, I believe such an institution exists ; in a word, if I could conclude that there were not honest men enough to be found amongst us, capable of managing a Bank as it ought to be conducted. If this be so, indeed, it is time for the people to consider their ways ; to reflect whether the general moral sense has become blunted or perverted ; and if there be really no longer any trust or confidence to be safely reposed in public or private men, instead of the intelligent and prosperous enjoyment of all the blessings which a republic is supposed to bestow, we need to bring us to our senses, at least, all the discipline and the judgments which another twelve years of mismanagement and destructiveness can impose upon us !

“In replying to one of your questions, therefore, my friend, I conceive that I have also answered, in part at least, the other. I contend, in the first place, that the Whig party have been thwarted and disappointed in the measures they had at heart, by the conduct of the Executive : secondly, that, notwithstanding the outcry some men are endeavoring to raise against them, the Whig Congress has really effected a great deal of good ; and thirdly, that those who complain of them do not consider that time enough has not elapsed, either for them to carry forward all the reformatations which were contemplated, or to test those which they have in fact introduced,—or to see the results of measures, which are already giving far seeing men a great deal of encouragement. It is but fair to conclude, too, that the lamented death of General Harrison, and the consequent change of men and derangement of plans, had great influence in perplexing and retarding the purposes of the party.

“The principal objects of the Whig party, as I have always

understood them, those which they avowed before the election, and which eventually carried them into power, were

1. The establishment of a uniform currency.
2. The fixed foundation for the revenue ; and incident to this, the settlement of the protective system on a firm and just basis.
3. The distribution of the Public Lands.
4. A single presidential term.
5. The reduction, as far as practicable, of the public expenditure.

6. Generally, a reformation of abuses, and a return to the simplicity and frugality of the old republic.

“This is a little different from the classification of Mr. Webster, at Faneuil Hall ; who, with a feeling, perhaps natural under the circumstances, and with which I have no disposition to find fault, puts forth, as the first measure contemplated and proposed by the Whigs, the late important and delicate negotiation in which he has been so eminently successful ! Mr. W. can reap no honor from my encomium—and it is of little consequence to him that I should say, that the settlement of this question does him great honor, like all the acts of his public life, before the fatal and disastrous day that he became the advocate of John Tyler and the undisguised opponent of Mr. Clay. But, much as it detracts from the merits of the Whig party, I must be permitted to say that he puts the treaty with England in an attitude which I never saw it in before ; in a sort of *ex post facto* position, which it would require a good deal of ingenuity to maintain. I do not think I ever heard of it in this view, before. No doubt many well thinking men of all parties desired a settlement of our controversies with England ; those who looked carefully at the genius and spirit of the times, and the importance to both countries of maintaining amicable relations, anticipated a similar result, sooner or later, to that which has taken place. It has been well effected. But is it fair to claim it as a specific Whig measure ? Mr. Webster himself never alluded to the subject, in his admirable speech at Worcester ! I do not know that a single orator *took the stump* upon this question. Who does not know that the negotiation, now so happily terminated, took its origin in propositions for an adjustment, made under the administration of Mr. Van Buren ?

“On some of the subjects in my list, Mr. Webster speaks ; to others, as being, under present circumstances, perhaps less suitable for amplification, he does not even allude. At Worcester, in 1832, when Mr. Clay was nominated with an enthusiasm worthy of his character and eminent services, Mr. Webster enlarged with great emphasis on the subject of the Public Domain, and

urged that Mr. Clay's report and speech, made at the previous session of Congress, on this question, were "among the very ablest of the efforts which have distinguished his long public life." He is silent on this point in Faneuil Hall! Mr. Webster says, in 1832, that the consideration of this subject was the result of a "legislative movement, to throw on Mr. Clay, who was acting a leading part on the subject of the Tariff, and the reduction of duties, a new and delicate responsibility, from which he did not shrink." In one word, it was an effort of the party in power, to embarrass Mr. Clay in the great work he had undertaken, and which he carried through, to save, what then could be saved, of the Protective System, to the hopes of the nation. Observe the fling, in 1842, at the Compromise Act in Faneuil Hall! Again—how could Mr. Webster, with ancient boldness, say any thing about a single Presidential term, while he remains in the service of John Tyler, who by an unworthy quibble, would be glad

To keep the word of promise to the ear,
And break it to the hope!

In fine, what declamation could come with grace from Mr. Webster, as to the reformation of abuses, when, in the language of the Worcester speech again, "the administration had gone down to low water mark, to make an ousting of tide-waiters! had taken away the daily bread of weighers and guagers and measurers!"

"Do I understand you then," said neighbor Brown, "to defend the Compromise Act, and to approve of Mr. Clay's conduct on that question?"

"Your question is capable of division, as they say in the Legislature," answered John, "and I move that the subject be divided. I do not defend the Compromise Act,—and, yet, I honor Mr. Clay's conduct in regard to it. You shall see that there is no paradox here; and the only way I can account for the fact that he has been exposed to unjust odium from some quarters, and most ill-merited obloquy from others, is, on the principle well known to those conversant with public affairs,—that the very actors themselves do not carry along the memory of events that occur, from one session of Congress to another. This may seem to you strange,—but all history and experience confirm it. Have you ever observed, that one steady old thinker, at home, can often give you a better account of what has been going on, in the Legislature, than most members of that honorable body themselves? Especially is this the case, if his attention has been called to particular measures. They have had many subjects before them to confuse and perplex their minds. Just so it is with Congress. And this may partly account for the fact that, notwithstanding so many speeches to their constituents, members of Congress often leave them quite as much in the dark as they found them. Another

reason is, that these gentlemen, sometimes, have things to conceal as well as to explain,—and thus select their own topics in popular assemblies.

“But about the Compromise Act! Let us look back for an instant at the history of the Protective system. I conceive it to have been first formally recognised as a part of our National policy, in the year 1816. When Mr. Lowndes and Mr. Calhoun, then leading members of Congress from South Carolina, fairly held the balance in their hands, amongst the fluctuating opinions of different parties; and, after a rigid and enlightened investigation of the subject, became satisfied of its beneficial operation, and by throwing their great influence into the scale, in that year it became incorporated into the law of the land. It was, however, by the law of 1824, that the policy, heretofore in its elements, was, by the zeal and wisdom of Mr. Clay, brought to such a state of perfection, as to “confer on that distinguished citizen,” as Mr. Webster says in his Worcester speech, “the title of “AUTHOR OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM;” and of the praise of which some men are now, with so much fairness, endeavoring to deprive him. I wish it to be remembered, as a fact of no little consequence to be considered by honest men of all parties, that for that very law of 1824, the most obnoxious to its opponents of any ever passed on this subject, General Jackson, then a member of the United States Senate, voted, and lent it all his influence. In General Jackson’s Message of 1830, the system is commended with singular spirit, and maintained by arguments of signal ability. In the year 1832, however, the mind of the President had undergone an entire revolution on this subject,—and in his Message of that year, he denounced it as not only impolitic, but also unconstitutional! This was a startling conjuncture in which to place this great interest, in which so vast an amount of property had become invested, relying upon the faith of all parties, and the formal recognition of the system, brought about by the President’s aid in 1824, and earnestly recommended by him in 1830. What was to be done? South Carolina, too, had changed her former more enlightened and liberal position. With interests much more deeply affected by the exhaustion of her own soil, and the competition of new and enterprising States, than by any of the fancied evils of the American System, she was all on fire with what she called its injustice and robbery against her, and was in the full career of open Nullification. The President, like Mr. Tyler, discovered or imagined a “popular prejudice,” and “forgetting the things that were behind” boldly proclaimed it a monopoly, and an attempt “to make a certain class of men richer, by act of Congress;” without adverting to, perhaps, without perceiving the fact, that the

law could hardly be said, in itself, as he averred, "to array section against section and interest against interest," since it left the citizens of South Carolina equal liberty to employ their enterprise and skill in this way if they chose, as it did the citizens of Massachusetts, or any of the Northern or Middle States. Besides these causes of serious danger and apprehension, the President had at his command, a Congress now, for the first time in the history of this country, only too ready to shew themselves the subservient instruments of arbitrary power. It will be admitted that the system was in imminent peril. What should its friends do? Should they let it all go by the board, or save, at least, a plank from the wreck, which might carry them to the shore? As Mr. Webster remarks, in his speech at Worcester, to which I have before alluded, they were engaged in 1832, impressed by these portentous appearances, "in consulting about the reduction of duties," in order to meet, as they best might, the exigencies of the times. The dominant party threw every impediment in their way,—and *then* referred to the Committee on Manufactures, of which Mr. Clay was Chairman, the subject of the distribution of the public lands, which he so promptly and so ably met. Mr. Webster does not there suggest that any blame can be attached to any body for consenting to a "reduction of duties." In 1833, in the midst of doubts, and fears and anxieties, the Compromise Act was passed! Perhaps the Whig party assented that it should be considered the settled rate of duties—perhaps they did not. I have never heard any *person* made responsible for such an agreement. Who made it? If it was A. B., he could not enforce its obligations on C. D. or E. F. It is not to be supposed that the sentiments of the "distinguished author of the American System" had undergone any change as to the principles to which he had devoted his energies and powers, upon which he had staked his reputation, and by which he had acquired his proud and honorable title. Stopping and looking for the better times which seem to be dawning, and conscious that they could not and ought not to bind their successors, the bill was passed, and the Protective Policy again saved from unforeseen and casual, but still imminent danger. Incompetent it was in its provisions, unjust in its principles, and unsatisfactory to the interests involved; but it was the best they could get, and there was great danger that they would get nothing. It is known, that the Bill, after it had passed Congress, was presented to General Jackson, and his signature fairly forced from him, by one of his friends who still retained some regard for justice and common sense; that they refused his request to retain it in his possession, because they knew, if he had the opportunity to consult the "Kitchen Cabinet," he would not sign

it at all. After all, important as the System is, it was a mere question of money—where expediency might well come in, in aid of right, and I am one of those who would rather see the country embarrassed or impoverished, for a time, than exposed to the fatal and lasting evil consequences of a civil war. The popular title of the Bill explains fully its character and intent. It was a compromise of existing and otherwise irreconcilable differences of opinion; a generous sacrifice, by those who knew they were unquestionably right, to satisfy, for the time, those who were as unquestionably wrong. It was the same spirit which settled the constitution of the land, and made us a nation. I am too much of an *American*, not to regard all sections of the Union with hearty good will; and I am free to confess, that I should not have felt justified or gratified, if, for the sake of a few more dollars and cents, we had been compelled, under General Jackson's "Force Bill," to see Charleston blockaded, or South Carolina reduced to the condition of a conquered province! Besides, I hold that a temporary consent to the passage of the "Compromise Act" was not only a generous, but, on other grounds, a wise and prudent course. It was throwing a tub to the whale. It gave opportunity for the experiments of better times. It afforded leisure, for men to open their eyes, and see more clearly into practical results. We must judge of measures partly by their results. Instead of suffering a complete stagnation, without a Tariff, for ten years, business has kept up some of its operations. In the course of that ten years, Factories have been established in various parts of the Southern States. They have thus acquired a new interest in the subject. In 1842, a Democratic member of Congress does not flinch from boldly voting an honest tariff; and Southern members have come nobly forward, and placed the system anew upon a firm basis, from which we may hope it will not again be shaken. In my opinion, therefore, bad as the principle of the Act of 1833 in reality was, Mr. Clay and his friends have been subjected to very unjust and ungenerous opprobrium for their conduct in regard to it—and thus, as I proposed, I think I have been able to reconcile a perfect justification of their course with the indefensible character of the provisions of the Bill."

"Well, but," said neighbor Brown, "you have got a Tariff Bill now, which, I suppose, suits you. Mr. Tyler certainly signed this bill. Here is one Whig measure which he certainly has approved of."

"My good friend," said John, "allow me to correct your phraseology on this point. Rely upon it, Mr. Tyler signed the last bill, *not because it was a Whig measure*; but because he at length thought it *was not*. That is, because Protection has now become the policy of leading and intelligent men of all parties;

because he knew that reasonable men every where were in favor of it; because he was aware that Democrats in Congress were pledged to sustain it; that the times, and the opinions of men, had so changed, that this system of policy must prevail, and it would not answer to resist it. You can easily see to what party he was looking here. He would not approve of a Tariff, unless the Distribution Act was also repealed. He remembered, no doubt, how the Distribution Act became connected, originally, with the Tariff; that, in the session of 1832, (vide Mr. Webster's speech, at Worcester,) it was 'forced,' by the dominant party, upon the Committee of Manufactures, of which Mr. Clay was Chairman, in order to embarrass their deliberations on the subject of Protection! How much his conduct, on this question, embarrassed Congress, at its late session, let its nine months' weary length of toil and anxiety, and untiring effort, give reply. Why, it is, at this very moment, but about two months, since members of Congress, and the nation, were despairing about obtaining any Tariff whatever. They had reason to despair. It was almost impossible to determine what would really suit the fancy of an Executive, that handled *Veto*es, as though they were children's rattles,—the effects all gone, just as soon as the jingle was over! By a generous 'compromise,' it finally passed the House, by only one vote; the credit of which, says Mr. Webster, at Faneuil Hall, belongs quite as much to Mr. Parmenter, or Mr. Appleton, as to Mr. Stanley, of North Carolina! Is not this the worst kind of sophistry? Were not Mr. Parmenter's opinions known—were not Mr. Appleton's well known, beforehand? Was there not a party in Congress, whose course was perfectly well settled? Nobody who understands this question, but remembers the immediate effect of Mr. Stanley's vote. Nobody but knows that it was given at a very great sacrifice of private feelings, and private interests; and yet, when the point came, like a right-minded man, he gave them up, in order to sustain the principles and interests of the party with which he was connected.

"While I am upon this subject, I may as well say that, in my opinion, the public has been disposed to do great injustice to the Whig members of Congress, at the late session. There were many things, in the public demeanor of all parties there; uproar and undignified conduct,—which excited the public disapprobation, as I think, justly—but much of this, perhaps, upon examination, might be found to be more or less excusable. But the mere fact that, after all, Mr. Tyler, with the influence of the Executive patronage, and all the other influences and attractions which set off the possession of power, could muster only a 'corporal's guard,' in his individual support, speaks thunder in

favor of the incorruptibility and fair patriotic motives of the Whig members of Congress. If they had chosen to be dishonest to their principles, office was open to them ; or if they did not need or desire place for themselves, every member of Congress has a long list of friends and dependents, to whom the smaller posts would be acceptable,—and yet they stood firm. There must have been a strong motive influencing them ; what was it? I say, *principle*;—and I am rejoiced that there is something of this kind ‘in the field,’ to meet and eventually, I trust, to triumph over, the corrupting influences of the times.

“I wish to say a word or two on this subject of Distribution of the Public Lands. Notwithstanding the coloring which the President’s friends have of late endeavored to give this question, I hold that it is, always has been, and always ought to be, a prominent Whig measure. I shall not go into the particular action of the Extra session on this subject. This was a temporary session; it passed a temporary Tariff bill. Why not a temporary distribution clause in connection with the revenue? Perhaps it was unwise that the session should have been called. The party were flushed with success. Men’s minds were too excited to be very considerate. They looked towards the future, regular session, to settle measures on a determinate basis. To the subject of Distribution, Mr. Webster, in his speech, at Worcester, devotes about four pages of the printed document. He sustains his views with powerful argument. He urges the reasons in favor of Distribution with great eloquence. The interest of Massachusetts was considerable, no less than one hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars a year, for five years. This is a minor consideration. But he points out the dangers and corruptions which have existed in other countries, by reason of an ill-use of the public lands, in the hands of an unprincipled Executive, and the distractions and disputes, constantly increasing, while they remain in their present condition. There are other reasons in favor of distribution ; the danger that, sooner or later, those who have the best claims to a portion, will find their rights frittered away; and next, the improvidence of depending upon a source of revenue, at best extremely various, and, therefore, constantly exposing the Government to embarrassments, constantly diminishing, and certain, eventually, to cease altogether. For my part, I cannot reconcile it with any known scheme of financial policy, to rely on such means ; nor do I think it worthy of a great, and, if it chose to be so, a prosperous nation, to base the expenditures of the Government on temporary expedients, instead of a settled, wise, and well-founded system. Indeed, I never heard of anybody pursuing just such a plan before, except our old acquaintance, John Watson, who lived down in the

woods; who sold his farm, built him a new house with a part of the proceeds, and put the rest by in his chest. This he drew out as he wanted it, as long as it lasted; he then sold his house again, spent the money as before, and finally came upon the town!

In my judgment, Mr. Clay's Bill on this subject in 1832, so highly commended by Mr. Webster, was a very noble one, and worthy a great and liberal mind, to distribute the proceeds among the States, under a provision that they should be devoted to some public object, Colonization, Education, or Internal Improvement. This would have settled forever, what will forever be, until it is settled, a vexed and troublesome political question. This bill was defeated by the dominant party in Congress, at that time. Its continuance as an open question has been the immediate cause of half the difficulties of the last session, and those under which we now suffer. Yet one of the President's friends gravely tells us that the question is one "whose importance has been immensely 'exaggerated,'" and another prudently slips by it altogether, in Faneuil Hall!

"In regard to three of the six great questions, therefore," continued John, "I contend that Mr. Tyler has defeated the just expectations, and outraged the principles, of those by whom he was placed in power. They are,

1. The establishment of a uniform currency,
2. The revenue, as connected with the protective system,
3. The distribution of the public lands.

"Let us look, only for a moment, at the other three.

"Take up the "reduction of the public expenditure"—an important measure, indeed, and one in which the people took a very strong interest, since Mr. Van Buren notoriously left the Treasury worse than empty, immense debts contracted, the country fairly bankrupt, and in a position requiring the highest skill and prudence, and the lapse of considerable time, to bring affairs into order; to provide the means of discharging obligations and lop off unnecessary expenses;—in regard to these, I grant, that the President himself could do comparatively little. But whoever compares the balance sheet of another year with the last, will see, I am satisfied, that a great deal has been effected by the Whig Congress, and every thing which reasonable expectation could demand.

"But what shall we say of the "reformation of abuses!" Here was a matter entirely within the President's control. Here was a system which, more than any thing else, I suppose, helped to keep the former administration in power, and which, when the people opened their eyes to its extent, more than any thing else helped to turn them out. Here was room enough to return

to the moderation, and magnanimity, and disinterestedness of better days. Here was indeed the Hydra-headed monster, upon whom every "Tray, Blanch and Sweetheart" of the Whig party had, again and again, opened, when the hunt was fairly up! There was nothing so calculated to excite the just indignation of freemen, as the infamous and indiscriminate proscription for opinions sake which so often had carried the administration of the other party "down to low-water mark." There was nothing so repulsive to all our feelings of moral and personal independence, as to behold our citizens dragooned by office-holders into slavish obedience, or to see the office holders themselves marshalled into all the compliant and unquestioning servility of Parisian *gendarmérie*, or domiciliary police! Nay, more; compelled, yea, at the price of office compelled, to contribute of the wages of their iniquity to sustain the masters that trampled them in the dust! How has this great abuse been reformed? Alas, the Philadelphia Custom-House, like a mountain, rises between us and all we hoped of the purity and patriotism of Executive impartiality. Alas, the long list of forced subscribers to Government newspapers,—(unwilling, I know many of them must be, for many were once, and still, I hope, desire to be, sound Whigs,) this long and forlorn array, of poor, shivering, shaking creatures, who avowedly dare not open their mouths to express an opinion, in a land professing to be the freest on the face of the earth,—this shall answer, whether we yet enjoy the common and inalienable rights of freemen. These are they,—(but many of them, we hope, are not yet sold to sin,) these are they, to whom Mr. Webster so feelingly appeals at Faneuil Hall! "If the Whig party desert the administration, what is to become of them? what is to become of Him?" Truly a pertinent and weighty enquiry to be thus seriously and publicly propounded. If the spirits of '76, whose honor and integrity alone makes Faneuil Hall "a name and a praise,"—could have answered, the reply would have pealed in unmistakeable thunders. I suppose the expected answer is,—Let the State sink, but incumbents of office enjoy the sweets, and alas, the "bitterness" which office brings.

Or else the world, and all that's in't, are nothing,—
The covering sky is nothing, Bohemia nothing!

I answer, if they cannot live in office, as honest men, it is as possible now, as it was when Benjamin Franklin took the alternative, to preserve their independence, and to keep it sound and wholesome on good substantial yankee milk and hasty-pudding! I do not wish to see office holders over forward, either to sustain or to break down any administration; but I do wish them

to remember that they are reasonable, intelligent, accountable beings, and not the mere puppets of a capricious fancy.

"And, lastly, as to "one Presidential term." Mr. Tyler was certainly elected, as General Harrison was, on the pledge to carry this principle into full operation. What has he done, and what is he doing now ? "I pause for a reply." Mr. Cushing, the future Secretary of the Treasury, under Mr. Tyler, tells the electors of Essex North, that "it is in vain to make political capital as against Mr. Tyler and Mr. Webster," I know it. This settles what was before undoubted—that Mr. Tyler proposes to be a candidate for re-election, if he can find a State to vote for him. Oh, vain and delusive hope ! Let Mr. Cushing prophecy and warn us, as long as he has breath ;—not until his native Merrimack takes a reflux course, and ascends instead of falling down the locks of Lowell, will Mr. Tyler or Mr. Webster gain the popular vote for President of the United States ! I once hoped, once thought better things of Mr. Webster. I knew he had faults ; all men have these ; even Mr. Clay, I admit to be quite subject to this condition, from which no human lot is exempt ; but his faults are open, frank, undisguised faults ; faults of his temperament, not of his heart. I considered Mr. Webster at least as a man of an upright intention, and a bold and sturdy assertor of those principles which are indispensable to the purity of our institutions and the virtue and welfare of the people. It pains me to alter my opinion. "What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue !"

"The friends of Mr. Tyler tell us that he has been driven into this position ; driven to truckle to the opposition party, and to all his vain hopes of their support, by the conduct of the Whig Congress, and the premature nomination of Mr. Clay. But this is no recent aspiration, at least, on the part of Mr. Tyler's present supporters, whatever may be thought of the sincerity of his own former professions. Mr. Cushing informs us that Mr. Tyler "in the midst of the Bank controversies, wished publicly to decline a re-election ; but the Whig-Harrison Cabinet advised him not to do so." Mr. Cushing says he is authorised to state it ; but what does this indiscreet avowal prove ? Why, that some members, certainly, of the "Whig-Harrison Cabinet" had a keener insight into the nature of things than Mr. Tyler himself :—that they knew the moment Mr. Tyler declined, (as it would have saved him many a heart-ache if he had,) the eyes of all men would have turned, with one consent, upon Mr. Clay. This would not suit the purposes of some of the Whig-Harrison Cabinet. The Whig party would be left, like sheep without a shepherd, and where should they turn, but to Mr. Clay ? The conduct of Mr. Tyler, on the Bank question, did separate the Whigs from

him ; they were left in this very condition ; they did look to Mr. Clay. And this, Mr. Cushing complains of, as a premature nomination ! What should they do ? Submit to be scattered, or take some one as a bond of Union ? They could then see, what subsequent events have proved, that they had no hope in Mr. Tyler ; and surely they acted a wise and honest course. People in this State, and that State, were pressing the nomination ; there was no alternative but Tyler or Clay, and could they hesitate ? They knew that Mr. Clay had had reason to expect the nomination at Harrisburg, and that he bore the disappointment with a generous magnanimity, and threw his whole soul into the canvass for General Harrison—and why not take him now, when the field was clear ? They knew that Mr. Tyler wept, at Harrisburg, when Mr. Clay's nomination was defeated ; it ought not to be displeasing to Mr. Tyler certainly, especially if he did not desire a re-election, that they should take up Mr. Clay, and nominate him now ! No, Sir, it was the conduct of Mr. Tyler, and his friends, which compelled the nomination of Mr. Clay, and rendered it unavoidable.

"I confess that I have heard of no objection to Mr. Clay, but this one of a "premature nomination." Even Mr. Cushing, (vide speech at Newburyport,) "makes this point, and this only, with Mr. Clay, at present,"—that he has "broken through the level of the party." (Vide Mr. Cushing's own recent public efforts to this very intent !) The only difference is, that Mr. Clay breaks through the level of party for one object ; Mr. Cushing for another. In the same speech, Mr. Cushing admits Mr. Clay to be "a bold and frank leader,"—I use his very language,—"A bold and frank leader !" Why, these certainly are good words. They are precisely the terms, which a very distinguished Democrat indeed, the Editor of the New York Evening Post, applies to the Revolutionary General Marion,—

"A leader frank and bold."

And what more can we desire ? Nobody doubts Mr. Clay's abilities, I think. "Boldness," in a good cause, is always a noble and a generous quality ; and "frankness," which means, I take it, openness, sincerity, ingenuousness, plainness,—is it possible that we could fix upon a higher or better combination of qualities, thus wrested from the very mouths of our opponents ? Eminent ability ; boldness to act as the right requires ; frankness, which is honesty, in the development and pursuance of his measures. Why, this is the very *beau-ideal* of a Republican President ; and I hope the day is not gone by, when such qualities can be appreciated and rewarded. What is there opposed to all this ? Why, premature nomination ; nothing else, so far as it is possible to discern on the surface of things ; "three years struggle," says Mr. Webster,—but, at longest, certainly only two.

"But who cannot see, with half an eye, the motives, I will not call them principles, which events now prove, actuate some of our leading men ? While Mr. Van Buren, and his illustrious predecessor, were in power, and it was necessary to overthrow them, that union

of the party was maintained, which alone could insure success. That end being accomplished, the leaders now show the other ends which they also had in view. Why oppose Mr. Clay's early nomination, except that it prevents the hopes and wishes of others? Substitute WEBSTER for CLAY, in the resolutions at Faneuil Hall, and we should have heard little of premature nomination.

I have said all I have to say of Mr. Clay. Let me say a single word about Governor Davis. When Governor Morton was, at last, elected by his one vote, Governor Davis, then a most useful and efficient member of the United States Senate, most reluctantly, and at the urgent solicitation of the party, consented to become a candidate for his present place. You all know by what an overwhelming majority he has carried the State. It would be treachery and baseness to desert him now! Desert him! No, indeed! it would be a desertion of ourselves, and our honor, and our true interest! At least, let old Massachusetts still stand firm. Let her standard still wave; and the great battle—far, far from being lost—will yet revive, and gratify our highest and dearest hopes.

“At least,” in the language of Mr. Webster, at Worcester, (and this is the last time I shall allude to that famous speech) “at least, let the star of Massachusetts be the last which shall be seen to fall from heaven. Let her shrink back, let her hold others back; if she can; at any rate, let her keep herself back, from this gulf, full, at once, of fire and of blackness; yes sir, as far as human foresight can scan, or human imagination fathom, full of the thick darkness of general political disgrace, ignominy, and ruin. Though the worst may happen that can happen, and though she may not be able to prevent the catastrophe, yet, let her maintain her own integrity, her own high honor, her own unwavering fidelity, so that with respect and decency, though with a broken and a bleeding heart, she may pay the last tribute to a glorious, departed, free Constitution.”

“After all, the people of this country must select somebody for their candidate. “The snake is scotched, not killed.” We must have a struggle. This is the price we pay for our liberties,—to contend for them, to watch for them, to maintain them. “We must fight,”—as John Adams said, in the ante-revolutionary debates,”—we must fight.” It must be, too, under some leader. There can be no doubt that the three prominent candidates will be Mr. Clay, Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Calhoun. I do not seriously believe that Mr. Tyler has any expectations on this score, *for himself*. The nomination at Faneuil Hall, and a thousand other indications, ought to satisfy Mr. Webster, that whatever judgment may be formed of his claims, he is not the people's choice. Which of these three, then, will the Whigs select? Which would it be reasonable to suppose the moderate portion of the late opposition party would select in order to promote the union, which most men seem to think so desirable, and to secure their own best interests. I never have seen any indications of popular enthusiasm for Mr. Van Buren. I do not believe that Mr. Calhoun can be the popular candidate of this country. I cannot conceive of any hesitation as to the choice!

"I confess that I am neither very much surprised nor disappointed, at the result in Ohio, and some of the Southern States." The vote has been a close one. But it unfortunately happens, that business men, who are much the most immediately affected by political changes, are far too apt to grow indifferent, upon any little alteration of the political horizon; to neglect the polls, unless specially urged to attend, and to forget that it is only by these occasional exertions, the very business in which they are so much interested can remain worth attending to. A man's business, or property, is only valuable, accordingly as the privilege of pursuing and enjoying it is permanently secured to him. Besides, who can doubt, in the face of the tremendous victory of 1840, that there is an immense majority which may yet be brought forward, in favor of Whig principles, in Maryland, in Ohio, in the United States?

"Allow that the enthusiasm of Mr. Clay's personal friends was ill-advised, in bringing him forward, as it is called so early; though I do not think it so *very* early, especially under the circumstances in which the party were placed; and as to 'bringing him forward,'—it is but a cant term, and singularly inapplicable to the case. *Mr. Clay's merits* brought him forward. He is a man who has certainly been heard of before. There is scarcely an intelligent man or woman in this country, who has not been warmed by his eloquence, elevated by his nobleness. But is this 'premature nomination' a sufficient reason for throwing up our principles, and all we hold dear to us? Shall we, like a spoiled child, quarrel with our dinner, and refuse to eat, because it has been served a moment sooner than we expected, or some of us desired?

"For my part, I am a Whig; not merely in name, but on Whig principles. I am a Whig, because I equally hate an irresponsible and oppressive administration of affairs, and that spirit of destructiveness, which would bury all good in one common ruin; because I hate trickery, and corruption, and servility—and that infamous policy, which, for the sake of its own interests, would unscrupulously sacrifice its obligations to country, duty, principle, and whatever should be dearest to a good and honest man.

"It is a light thing, indeed, which some of these gentlemen ask of us! Only to desert every public principle, for which the party have been contending for the last twenty years; only to give up all our private integrity! To immolate our self-respect; our regard for the institutions, our hopes for the welfare of our common country! What motive is to lead us to this slavish prostration? What altar are such garlands to decorate? What deity is it, who requires our all as his victims? For what unseen good are we to become 'dogs, and do this great thing'? Why, truly, for John Tyler,—not selected by us, and who never would have been selected by us; to whom all the pride of local attachment could not bind even his native State; who, placed by the act of Providence in his present position, has used it only to disappoint and betray us! To soothe the disappointment, or to flatter the hopes of Mr. Webster, Mr. Van Buren or Mr. Calhoun! To prostrate ourselves, submissively, before a

power we do not reverence, and cry, 'These be thy Gods, O Israel! Better, perhaps, described, as the poet delineates the heathen deities from Homer, as

Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust!

"Although I see Mr. Cushing recently warns you to beware what you do against Mr. Tyler and Mr. Webster, I don't suppose you, of Mr. Cushing's late district, have yet felt your necks, to see whether the rope or the guillotine would fit them comfortably. I think you have not yet quite come to this. I think the honest, hardy, intelligent, independent yeomanry of Essex North are not yet *afraid* of either Mr. Tyler or Mr. Webster; perhaps they are subject to feelings quite different from alarm, although these two stars should happen to be *in conjunction*! Why, you *make* such men as these! They are the *servants* of the people, not their *masters*. A slip of paper, not very large, makes and unmakes them also. Let not the men of Essex be *warned*, as to the exercise of their rights as Freemen!

"What is the difference, after all, between the time-serving politician, and the honest, steadfast, true-hearted and clear-headed patriot? Why, the one, in order

To beguile the time,
Looks like the time;—

He conforms to "popular prejudices;" he sacrifices, without scruple, all semblance of principle to his supposed interests. He corrupts himself, and corrupts others; and society, under his influence, becomes loose, reckless, unreflecting; "earthly, sensual, devilish." The other maintains his principles pure, whatever may be the corruption of the times, or the demands of popular prejudice. Whatever other men are, he continues AN HONEST MAN. When evil days, at length, fall like a whirlwind upon the State, and danger and disaster seem to threaten its inevitable overthrow, then men turn to him. They look at his steadfastness, his purity—to the direct and manly purposes which exemplify the clear mind, that dwells only, in its highest excellence, in company with the sound heart; and he thus uses the power which he has kept in store, to renovate and reinstate the falling fabric of the Commonwealth. The one gains, perhaps—but more commonly loses, his present object. Winning or losing, he takes with him the contempt of those with whom he acts; the sting of his own conscience; the distrust of his own times; the scorn of posterity; the execrations of history—and files his name to undying infamy, on the same list with the Burrs and the Arnolds of another day. The other exists in the hearts and affections of the good—and the Jays, the Adamses, and,—there is but one Washington,—are the illustrious company, with whom he lives forever, in the applause and gratitude of the world."





